824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, elém (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, ngómo (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, nkū (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, nkūk endé lě (pith).
52. Stone game, akŭn (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, edŏ bǎn (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, akūt (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of Raphia hookeri M. (esa).

343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; [177] others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied from the European models; still others, like the temporary

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable.
536 Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esă'bă̄d) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angō'n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases 744 (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

342 Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. 177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

351/247 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (ošimentá'ngan = ošim [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

487 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491/499 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bēá; plural, má; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndžéi I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

●[177] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kǎža III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000 ## Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bə̌ 241 bidžǐ = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyə̌n bidžǐ = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebắk, Ntum; ebă̌k, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (evīḗn Ntum, Fang; tǒń, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (oyū́n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fă,-tsi IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced [177] by the European cutlass, nkpwē̤dắ I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsi). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text./ Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

524 "star," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and kŏt – bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

[177]

[249]

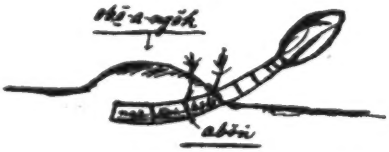


Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1);

[805]

1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a káb-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

245

Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nssälang (Essáuong Family)

[524] Riddle: mŏnĕnga e ne m' okō, a wṓle
woman she is to me there, she many

bḗ bŏn, kaa nŭm
gives birth to children, no (without) man.

Answer: ekṓn = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush banana (adžüi, adžüi-ekṓn); and the noble banana (etăt, etăt-ekṓn). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text / the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madžüi

245
177

mentăngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etăt, from the stem a tăt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dŭgŭ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (abō'k), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tĕgĕ III - fruit, etĕ'tăm) are planted. The name is derived from a tĕk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etĕ'tam from a tĕbĕ etăm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tĕge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbăbelŏ'mo IV). The name esăn includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engā'ne-esăn), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebŭbŭ'dŏ-es), and the Melastomatacea Dissotis decumbens (P. B.) Trian. (esĭsăn-bongŏ'n-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.
Other cultivated plants are the following:

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role.

232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion.

231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfú's IV Fang, esi'nǎ), very recently introduced from the coast.

231 177

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
●177 region and were called elɔ̈ (wild duck = elɔ̄′t); later they were called sɔ̄ɔ̄′ III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yɔ̂t) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esă′să′ = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (myūfūn IV, hūi′ IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wūi′ ; plural, mūi′), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

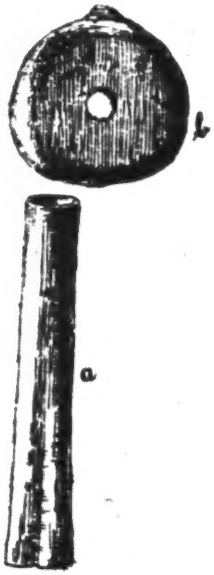
Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elǒ́ń, elŏ́ɛ̃), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zŏ́le IV, zŏ́.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Bassá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824



[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbán) (1) and the bow (endzi á-mbán 2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvim); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvǔma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfáne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elōm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enōézǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajī); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (zǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebám) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ). /(8) is omitted by the author./

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

266
184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭń), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏń I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntṓno I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ́s) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebṓna, ekökŏ́e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the large Achatina marginata Sw. (kōĩ́) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tōk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

[321]

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (mvé I, vi̯ŏk; plural, lōk) made of clay (vi̯ŏk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (mvé, vi̯ŏk) and smaller ones (obébē) on the pot loft (akáh e mvé). Through the trading companies, iron pots with three feet (mēkṓne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

[177]

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

264
415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tə̄k; plural, IV or, irregular, matə̄k), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form [177] has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dū ma-gə̄də̄və̄'də̄, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiāi-adzə̆āb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. It may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbɔ̄'mekūnă I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [177]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [439]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-mviŏk (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntŏn I; bowl, obă'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

000

Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all [386] gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etō'b-mabă,s).

291 The belt (kă'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbɔ̄m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale 294 nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs 291 and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass 177 (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

291
177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miẽn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andu͂n) and of the herb called afuh. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

[304]

301
304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adzõm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

[304]

301 transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck [304] ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kŏndŏ́g'-zə̌m III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck

1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm Podococcus barteri Mann et Wendl. (niamvíne), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (Diospyros varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle Spizaetus (ndūĭ' IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce,

[177]

2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

are made from strips of Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlon) or Trachyphrynium violaceum (nkŏmokŏ́mo), held together by a graceful braid of Rhectophyllum threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngə̌́na IV), which among the Ntum is worn

only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ egbwɛ̀ɛ́, ngɔ́na IV Fang, or azɔ́m-e-sɨ̄ Ntum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a neckband (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called etūga-ntɔ́ma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngɔ̄ne) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text. /

Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck rings made of brass (mvɔ̀t I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (mvɔ̀te zǎ́h; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection with brass founding. It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ büttneri Gürke (mavúlundzīk III). By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndŭtŏ́lŏ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ myăn̂ (plural) by the Ntum, endŏ́n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsăă III Ntum, endŏ́n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okŏn̂ e myăn̂), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obĕ́ndə́m (1) or fi̍na IV (2), as well as mfi̍na; among

1. Derived from abĕ́, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndə́m, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yĭ́n, "dark, black"; e-yĭ́n-di mŏt, "Black (man), Negro."

304 Tattooing, which was introduced about 20 years ago, replaced body painting; from it tattooing derived its names, fĭ'na and kŭdemăn, and among the Fang it also received the name for decorative scars, myăh. Among the Ntum, furthermore, it is called ekă'n (see above), and among the Jaunde,

Fig. 151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea.

otŭ (from otŭ, "resin," which is rubbed into the wounds and brings out the permanent pattern). According to the Fang, 304 tattooing came to them from the north between the early and 177 middle 1890's. Among the Bene, who probably acquired tattooing from the east, only younger people are tattooed. It follows from this that the art must have spread throughout the

304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
• 177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
832 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
577 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482.

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [[77 251]]

531
304 The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zŏ), Fang, or parrot claws (biḝ'ĭ, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngŭ́n, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǫ́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǫ́ – Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (myă̆), developed from arc and triangle, as row l, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏ́n) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

[177]

The knife (okŏ́n) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kŏ[s] a măn) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text./ It is therefore probable that the ancestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the [174] equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be- [753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps ● [177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea [752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 278 1. beyū,ĕ́ a ndžīk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matū,lū mesĭn III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alṓs), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (eš̆ŭlắ, from a šŭlắn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njĕ́m osṓk IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dž́ibe elṓk III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkắdena III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvĭm) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abắn), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžūē), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbắn-afắn I) dried, ground, and eaten.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf. 757 (nkɔ̄mbwɔ̄ le III): leaves ground together with red wood and some 278 water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwɔ̄ le (buē le), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejɔ̌k): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etū ě): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukū kūt a mfɔ̌ nɔ̌k III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfɔ̌ nɔ̌k I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otū m): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by [752] means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andĕă), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkɔ́k I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region, [177] but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etŭ ĕ) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

843
262
784
[845]
supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins (mvé, "pot," and myŏ, "vagina").

262
In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ ń ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simultaneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary
[177]
for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

First half year (mbū́)

805 esɛ̌́b = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. yūɛ̄ˈn esɛ̌́b = great dry season (December to February);
2. šō gō, esɛ̌́b = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbū́)

ojŭn = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. yūɛ̄ˈn ojŭn = short dry season (June to August);
2. šō gō, ojŭn = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngōˈn, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sɔ̌ˈnɔ̌ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of the month.

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
aɣɔ̌ŋ́ ngōˈn a sɔ́ malūˈ malǎ or zǎngbǎˈ
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsŏm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžila, especially the older ones, the

[802] [211] 1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŭn e ngūī, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfă I, mfăn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŭm, supposedly from a jŭme nkŭn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŭm is the same as in nnŭm, plural bojŭm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŭm for (e) the man; majŭm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biă'n ejē, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etūī'n) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miăk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sŏ-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miăk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, espe-
[684] cially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by custom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miăk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

524 [171] Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the [177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum [184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the [184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngǒ'k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sǭ'ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akŭ̱ń because of the large black beads (akŭ̱ń) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion. [824] [194] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĭa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
● 177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (să; plural, besă, derived from esă "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi$\check{o}$' I), [531] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from [824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abăm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dŏ abĭa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

[301 832]

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġė (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[177] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
● [177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on
619 the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 " The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

769 794 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position — justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" — to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating [276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'ɛ̀ bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult, [304 177] like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

829 soon developed a feeling of subjection and inferiority in wisdom
773 and riches. This is attributed to a decision of Nzamõ (God), to a veritable curse. A text collected by Largeau mentions two children of Nazmõ – Ekouagha (subjected) and Ndan'gho (ruler) – and the wishes expressed for each of these:

For Ndan'gho, the father says: "Riches! authority! wisdom!" [159] He adds: "All these things are in yourself!" Again he says: "You will beget white children." For Ekouagha, he cries out: "Alas! my other son has taken everything with the fortune ... There are no riches left for you ... you will beget black men ... you will be miserable..." (1) This is a theme comparable to that

1. Op. cit., article, Instruction.

of the "Legend of the Nsas" given by Father Trilles, in which Nazmõ [sic] ends by saying: "You, black man, rise and go and find your wives and populate the earth ... you will always remain naked as now ... You, white man, you will be rich, richer even than you were in your dream. You, the white man, will always be the white man, the black man will always be the black man, the white man will always be rich, the black man always poor..." (2)

2. Op. cit., Légende du Nsas [Legend of Nsas].

829 The curse motif indicates the effective potentialities attached
773 to imported riches and their acquisition. Also there appears per-
177 haps the first awareness of the racial question and above all a technical insufficiency allied to a social organization that is wholly preoccupied with the production of human beings, (in the legend quoted, "go and find your wives and populate the earth" is part of the curse). The illusion of direct participation in riches was quickly destroyed, and the ascendancy of the agents of colonization became more specific and more complete. The theme of the curse attached to the race shows the extent of the deception. It is no longer possible to return to methods of violence. Witchcraft techniques then increase in number; recourse is had to knowledge revealed during fits brought on by the absorption of certain forms

829 of strychnine, and the idea, borrowed from Christianity, of a
773 better life after death becomes more specific. The effort at
177 adaptation dealt first with religious and magical techniques; in these fields much was borrowed from neighboring peoples (for example, the Bwiti cult of which we will speak later); customs are altered not in order to assimilate for purposes of conquest but simply for means of defense. The Fang people, reduced to a state of unemployed conquerors, lose the essential part of their moral strength. As we will show in the next chapter the Fang are one of those peoples that have most keenly suffered from crises due to the colonial situation and one of those that have reacted most to this threat.

FH4 523

/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Owéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Mékè, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma nɔ̃ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

FH7

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the nɔ̃/ki (or ɲɔ̃/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

•[FH]

of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a bilateral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

224
262 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
262

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but 221 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam 262 streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [279] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

6:Alexandre and Binet--41 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equip-
556 ment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
● 177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold—and moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties.

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14 percent	Household articles .	1.9 percent
Textiles	17.4 -	Equipment	7.7 -
Bride price	13 -	Taxes	8.5 -
Housing and furniture . .	7.5 -	Medicaments . . .	1.3 -
Bedding	1.5 -	Education	0.9 -
Lighting and upkeep . . .	3 -	Gifts and miscellaneous .	.6 -
Trips	2 -		

517
177
511
291
[249]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

517
177
511
[291] to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
194 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[654] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sô, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôl, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

575 object of official suspicion /67/ and rightly so, since it has free re-
668 course to human sacrifice and to physical liquidation of apostates; it has assumed the traits of a secret, often surreptitious, society. The liberal character of the administration since the 1946 reforms has aided the spread of bwiti by giving emphasis to the frankly political side of its activities: the municipal elections of 1956 were in large measure a bwiti triumph.

575 Bwiti, like the old rites, first of all works to protect its members against the beyem (bearers of évu), and its whole purely African side recalls those ancient rites. As in ngil, members have to bring in to the society the bones of their ancestors; as in prohibited /criminels/ societies, they often have to agree to the putting-to-death or mutilation of a close relative; as in the melan, they drink a brew based on narcotic herbs that enables them to "see the bwiti." There is a sacred musical instrument, the ngomi harp, sculptured figures or reliefs, especially on hut poles, recalling the biéri cult, a special language, prohibitions, etc. But the weekly ceremonies are influenced by the
• [177] Mass; the progressive degrees of initiation probably derive from freemasonry, as does the lodge organization; finally, the Bible is used and interpreted in a manner, often political, that can only come from Protestant influence.

575 Balandier has shown how bwiti is trying to effect a reorganization
668 of Pahouin society in Gabon, by providing it with an ideological basis, a total collective weltanschauung permitting an integration of customary forms of behavior with those resulting from the colonial situation. It would be interesting to carry his investigation into the Cameroons and into Spanish territory in order to study the reaction of very similar societies in quite different politico-administrative and economic contexts.

177 Ngôl is much more recent than bwiti and represents, perhaps, an
575 even more striking example of politico-religious syncretism. Its
668 source is an African interpretation, a mythology based upon Free French propaganda in French Equatorial Africa from 1940 to 1944. Nzela me Ngol—General de Gaulle—has become a "white" hero, sent to liberate the black man by revealing the white man's (1)

1. "Logically" one might have expected this role to be ascribed to Governor General Eboué.

177 secrets and powers (power-ngul, to be related to ngôl?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
668 pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests bwiti, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the nzela me ngôl; he is accompanied by "presidents, " "presidents in chief, " "commanders, " "inspectors general, " "governors" and "governers general, " "militiamen, " doctors, " etc. (1). There is

1. One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard, " who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "douane" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the ngôl hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
797 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political
668 revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their [787] way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. [728] The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

• 177 681 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

177 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persistence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is [369] an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delinquency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, although the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They 674 463 were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

301 [291] Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains, bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her [764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death, by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's [422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of 306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten; placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin [325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore, these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 [177] Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type, from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English "slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home, imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from "woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese (from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no [941] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons, "drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants. [717] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those 834 past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

● [177]

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ɔ̂bɔ̂m or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afañ /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
[304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

561 may serve as atinan to the next generation and after that becomes the éyôlé: thus, a chief with the cognomen Atyaminlam, destroyer of villages, will have a son called Mbutu Atyaminlam and grandson Atyaminlam Mbutu.

551 177 Influenced by French customs there has been, since the establishment of regulations for native citizenship, a stabilizing of patronymics, especially in official circles. A new patronymic may have begun as the father's atinan or éyôlé or mebatan systematically given to all his children as an éyôlé. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity has led to adding a Christian name to the jôé, which may serve in place of an éyôlé or be joined with a native éyôlé. Thus, for example, Ze Mvondo, with the cognomen Mebianga (man of drugs, because of a sickly childhood), is baptized Solomon in a Christian mission and becomes by contraction Solomon Mebianga. He may give his mebatan as an atinan to all his children and we should then have Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., with a Christian name besides, or he may give them his mebatan as éyôlé, without atinan, with only a Christian name. There are other solutions besides, often the result of a vogue, from the names of men famous internationally or locally, dead or living (De Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) to the orthographic Gallicizing of the jôé chosen as patronymic (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

551 I have referred to the old rules controlling the choice of elements of a name. The éyôlé could be connected with some event at birth or during gestation; could have been suggested by a dream or a diviner; be deprecatory so as to break an evil spell; could result from a prohibition imposed on the father or mother, etc. It could also reflect the genealogical rank of the bearer, though this function was restricted more to the atinan chosen from the biyolé of the male and female forebears of both lineages. Nowadays the trend is to give as atinan always the father's éyôlé, sometimes the mother's, especially in the case of illegitimate children. According to Trilles, a name also had a totemic significance, also connecting it with genealogy. All this has by now pretty well passed into oblivion.

From the linguistic point of view, the majority of proper names are common nouns, occasionally heightened: mvôm (python), Mvômô; /94/ afan (forest), Afana; zok (elephant), Zo'o, etc.; or else phrases: Ebéndeñ (e bee éndeñ), "shield-bearer;" Atyaminlam (a tyam minlam), "destroyer of villages," etc. They are usually

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824]

The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull;

[778]

this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye-

[386]

ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

177 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one
764 would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In
[795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European
177 black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to live" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports
774 the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [43] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where [177] they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôtô, according to
784 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôtô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

787 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in
784 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover, not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new forms, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

6: Alexandre and Binet--158 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewondo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Nnanga mɔn in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biaff nezeghe —? —, according to

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 527 Chronicles, minkaŋete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

● 177 536 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewondo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

536 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and Ntoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjañ, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

ényengé, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non è vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, niebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

535 177 and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, mebɔ̀k, mevak, and at bisulan (ayoñ meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

535 anyeñ, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akɔ̀ma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, mbac; raffia fiber skirt and bare torsos; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

asiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

[177] In towns, European or American dances are current under the generic name "tango," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ beguine, often fugual.

536 The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At bisulan, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

631 177 The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayoñ, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1880, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, belos or belos bitoa, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and permitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consanguinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

The German colonial administration divided the country up into large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewondo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

080 none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

304 881 779 Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short, only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare." [528]

Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

● 177 304 881 We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs. Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion.

177 304 881 We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their history as we can go."

Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

304 881 779 In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the *ékí*, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the